582 marriage is allowed between crosscousins (2), for the sister's children

> 2. Crosscousins are those of whom the father of one is the brother of the other's mother.

belong to their father's family. An uncle may never marry his niece.

Endogamy (kwisabira ku mugongo, lit. to find one's self on one's back) and exogamy both exist at the same time among the Abanyiginya. However, they may not marry the daughter of their brother or their sister. Similarly, they may not take a wife among the Abungura, the Abasinga, and the Abatshyaba.

587 When a man dies, his father or his brother may marry one of his widows. Similarly, the son who succeeds him as head of the family may marry his father's wives, other than his own mother, on condition that they do not belong to his mother's family.

The husband of the deceased's sister may marry his sister-in-law (muramukazi), but not the latter's daughter (umukobwa wachu). Similarly, the brother of the deceased's wife may marry his sister-in-law, but not her daughter (umwishywa w'umukobwa). [22]

Marriage is permitted with the widow of a blood brother but not with his daughter.

582 The Batutsi may marry Bahutu women. For example, a patron
563 might give his daughter in marriage to one of his clients of whom he is particularly fond. But an umugaragu is forbidden to ask his shebuja for permission to marry his daughter.

2. Impuberty.

582 In the past a young man and a girl could not get married before the age of twenty-five and eighteen respectively. A little girl (inshube) and a little boy (ingimbi) were sometimes betrothed, but they remained with their parents until the time of their marriage.

Nowadays a young man usually gets married when he is eighteen and a girl when she is fourteen.

● 584 3. Lack of consent.

The father chooses the wife for his son. If he is dead, one of his brothers takes his place in this undertaking. The son who is head of the family finds wives for his brothers and receives marriage proposals

584 for his sisters. The girl and the young man must obey the will of the paterfamilias. Even if their feelings are not in agreement, they cannot refuse to marry. This is particularly true when the fathers are friends and wish to avoid quarreling. Obviously, marriages entered into under these conditions are unstable and nearly always last only a short time.

This rule is not sanctioned with any penalty, but anyone who did not comply with it would expose himself to public contempt. Nowadays, more and more frequently, the young man makes the choice himself and asks his father to take the necessary steps with the family of the girl he has chosen. [23]

4. The Dowry

583 The purpose of the dowry (inkwano) is to buy back the children that will be born of the marriage. In fact if it is not paid to whom it is due (the wife's father or brother), he will take the children as hostages.

Also the dowry contributes to the stability of the marriage. The relatives, who have to refund the dowry if the marriage is broken, are certain to encourage the husband and wife to become reconciled.

Among the Batutsi the dowry consists of cows. Formerly, well-to-do people gave eight cows, hence the word umunani (lit., eight, implying, heads of cattle). Today, these cows, of which there are only two but which have kept the name of umunani, are brought to the girl's father during the engagement and kept by him in trust. One of them is for the gukwa (1), the other for the gutebutsa (2). On the

1. Literally, "to take the necessary steps to conclude the engagement."

2. Literally, "to hasten" (implying, the marriage).

day of the wedding, the girl's father keeps for himself the cow that has given him the most calves, or the finest heifer, and returns the other to the young man's father.

5. Betrothal and Marriage

584 If the young man has not made his choice, the father draws his attention to such and such a girl whom he would like to have as a daughter-in-law, after having made sure of her father's approval and agreed with him on the date of the official betrothal (gusaba umugeni, lit., to ask a girl in marriage).

On the appointed day he returns to the home of the girl's parents accompanied by one or two clients (3) carrying a new hoe and

3. One of his relatives among the Bahutu.

a jug of hydromel and leading a cow [25] called y'ilembo (lit., in order to enter the rugo). He is let into the rugo. The young man's father and the girl's father, as well as his brothers and brothers-in-law, sit on mats, drink, smoke and talk of this and that. Meanwhile, the mother and the girl keep themselves hidden in a near-by nook and follow the conversation eagerly.

After this preamble which is merely a distraction, the talk turns to the marriage. This often gives rise to a lively discussion during which each of the parties defends his interests. When agreement is finally reached, the father says: "we give you our daughter, but the cow is not fine enough (1); bring us some others." An umugaragu is

1. Even if the animal is magnificent.

then ordered to bring seven other cows to complete the umunani (2)

2. As we have seen above (cf. Dowry) the girl's father nowadays only keeps one out of the two cows for himself.

and to ask the girl's parents for their approval as to the date of the wedding.

[834] Sexual intercourse is strictly forbidden to the betrothed.

585 The wedding usually takes place at the home of the young man's father (3).

3. The marriage ceremonies have been

585 minutely described by the Rev. Father Schumacher (Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906) and the Rev. Father Pages (Congo, 1922, Vol. I, pp. 645-63 and Vol. II, pp. 42-68). We merely refer the reader to these articles. This matter concerns folklore rather than common law. Hence we are intentionally leaving it out of our report.

584 If, after having accepted the dowry, the girl's father does not keep his promise and refuses to give his daughter or gives her to another, he must immediately return the dowry. But by that very act, he breaks all bonds of friendship with the young man's parents, and in the future no one of the young man's family will marry a girl of the other family. The same is true if the suitor breaks the engagement.

[26] 6. Domestic Life

591 Marriage in Ruanda is patrilocal, that is to say, the woman leaves her parents to go and live with her husband. If the wedding has taken place in the woman's family, the young couple remain there for some time (gutahira), then go and settle with the husband's family.

585 Among the Batutsi, about two months after the wedding, the wife's parents send their daughter the intwikururano (from gutwikurura, lit., to unveil, to uncover), consisting of beer, sorghum flour, and milk. The purpose of these gifts is to allow the young woman to come out of the retreat imposed on her the day after the wedding and to show herself in public. For his part, the husband's father gives his daughter-in-law a cow called y'itshyali (lit., ,of the nest). The young couple then leave the dwelling they have occupied provisionally and go and occupy the rugo that has been built for each of them [sic]. A little later they go and spend a night with the wife's parents (gucha mw'ilembo, lit., to cross the threshold, or gusubya amaguru, lit., to return on foot) and also confer gifts on them on this occasion.

595 reach a marriageable age, and the girl has been chosen as his marriage partner by his parents; he will then take a concubine from a lower class for the waiting period. However, in most cases, the parents give their sons free choice.

584 When a young man takes a liking to a girl, he first proposes marriage to her without asking anyone else. If she accepts, the young man asks his parents to pay the "bride price." When the parents have given their consent, the suitor sends a matchmaker to the parents of the girl or, if her parents have died, to her closest relatives. If the father or, if he is dead, the mother refuses or explains that the girl has already been promised to someone else, the matter is considered closed, and the two lovers have to give each other up. If, contrary to 836 the orders of the parents, they engage in extramarital intercourse, the girl will, in most cases, receive corporal punishment. If she should become pregnant, she is placed completely outside the social pale, for by her behavior she has cheated her parents of the purchase price, and she has also deprived other girls of the opportunity of being asked for in marriage in her place.

583 However, when a girl's father or mother, as the case may be, accepts the suitor's proposal, the matchmaker has to negotiate the purchase price (inkwano) for the bride. This fluctuates depending on the individual, the position of and the property owned by the bridegroom and the bride. Among the large class of the unpropertied, a few strings of small pearls and a few pots of pombe beer are considered sufficient. Among more prosperous groups the bride costs, besides beer and pearls, one or more goats and sometimes even one or two head of cattle (No. 4, p. 221). Among the families of the rich and powerful, that is, the Baganwa, a bride may seldom be had for [107] less than 10 to 15 head of cattle. A bride can also be purchased by paying a part of the agreed price. In this case the young husband becomes security for the rest of the money but does not need to pay it if the marriage is annulled.

585 The objects constituting the agreed purchase price are sent to the bride's parents by the bridegroom through the matchmaker.

784 The death of a family member makes the foodstuffs remaining
262 in the hut taboo, as well as the objects and tools which belonged
768 personally to the deceased. These objects may be purified with lustral water.

784 Even the widower or widow becomes taboo at the death of
768 the spouse and must undergo rites of purification.

Cohabitation between spouses becomes taboo upon the death
833 of a close relative, the king, or the queen mother. This remains in
784 effect for a period of time that varies with the importance of the
[764] deceased.

Marital relations are also forbidden in certain circumstances prescribed by usage or tradition, for example, at the time of a clandestine marriage proposal (1).

[584]

1. In order to force a girl's parents to give their daughter in marriage, an individual need only come into their hut under some pretext and covertly leave one of his bracelets there. After having taken leave of the household, he cries from afar, "Take good care of the object I left behind." The girl's parents believe that they must give her to him in order to avert misfortune.

[825] In the two preceding cases, the rules demand that the bull, billy goat, ram, and even the rooster be separated from the family herds and flocks!

784 All field work is forbidden at the time of funerals, as well
[461] as in the following cases: when lightning strikes the courtyard or hut, when a son is born, when a dog dies, when a hut burns, when it hails. On such occasions, work is forbidden only for one day.

Women and herders may not touch sorghum mush while it
[842] lies on the household spatula (umwuko). If she were to disobey this injunction, a woman would risk bearing only daughters. As for the

581 great importance because it unites two families and is a step in the direction of social integration. In Nduga where farmers have no political importance, marriages also have no significance.

583 This probably also explains the difference in the purchase prices of brides. In the north these prices are very high; in Nduga they are very low. Hence, marriages in the north are much more stable.

583 The price paid for the bride, which must be returned in case
567 of a separation, is the economic guarantee of the permanence of a union. In the words of the natives, a marriage in Mulera is an act of exchange between two clans. One clan furnishes the horned cow, ntuku, which is the bride price, the other clan provides the unhorned cown, nkunge, that is, the bride. The woman, like the cow, is family property. After the death of her husband she is inherited, so her purchase price and her progeny do not have to be returned. This inheritance is called kutshura.

584 In Kissaka a bride is wooed when she is still a small child. The suitor sends banana beer to the parents of the bride. If the parents approve, they accept the gift. Then, when there is an opportunity, the bride price is agreed upon. The presents of beer are repeated from time to time until the girl comes of age. These presents are supposed to call attention to the suitor and further the marriage settlement. As many as 20 to 50 jugs of beer
585 are sent. When the girl is mature, that is, when she is about 15 years old and her breasts are the size of a fist, she is brought to the house of her husband on the appointed day by the sister of her father, her brothers, and her attendants (bagaragu). They stay the whole evening, drink banana beer, and converse. While the bride sits with her aunt in the inner part of the house, the rest of the party is in the section facing the door (muliango). After the entire supply of beer has been drunk, they all return to their houses, and the newly married couple is left alone.

It often happens that the bride runs home to her parents and does not wish to return to her husband. In this case the husband must send more presents of beer to the parents-in-law. If he happens to be out of beer, he must send a man, who promises to send more beer, to fetch his wife.

583 [220] The sum paid by the bridegroom for his wife is primarily an indication of his wealth and not the purchase price of the woman. That is why the rich pay proportionately much more than the poor. Thus, a great chief in Kissaka pays two cows and their calves for a wife; a lesser chief pays one cow and a calf; an ordinary Mututsi, only one cow. The bridegroom's payment is called inkwano. On the other hand, the woman gets a dowry, known as indongovanyo (wedding present). The woman's dowry is given by her father and his sister. Each of them gives one calf, and, in very rare cases, a cow.

[643] If the king wishes to marry, he sends forth one of his men with a forked wooden stick called isando. The king pays for a wife with many cows, but he does not accept a dowry because everything, of course, belongs to him anyway.

583 The payments and gifts among the Bahutu of Kissaka are not so large. The bridegroom, for example, pays six to eight hoes for his bride or very often a doti (four yards) of material and a sheep. The bride's father gives a dowry consisting of one hoe, and the father's sister gives a sheep. However, considerable quantities of beer are consumed on these occasions.

In Bugoye where a cow is often exchanged for a girl, the bride can also be paid for in services. The girls can thank this market value in terms of a cow for the compliments of the elegant cavaliers who compare them with cows. In Mulera where the Bahutu are wealthier and pay more for their wives, they cannot get a wife without a cow.

589 A young unmarried girl is called inkumi. It is said of old maids that they fell into the hearth, baguye kuziko, or akapfa nimulindo, "she died in virginity."

836 Marriages with girls who have had sexual intercourse occur, but a bad reputation, at least in Mulera, is said to complicate the otherwise simple procedure of finding a husband.

[581] If a Mulera wishes his son to marry, he looks around for a girl who might guarantee him important allies among her relatives. 584 When he has made his choice and the oracle has pronounced favorably on the choice, he sends a present of beer to the girl's parents. The present is accepted if they wish to express their satisfaction with the courtship. The father of the girl must accept

584 the first present of beer, even though he intends to withdraw his approval later. The refusal to accept the first gift is considered a bad insult and evokes bitter enmity. The visits accompanying the presents of beer are repeated from time to time. If the father of the girl does not discourage these visits, the price of the bride is discussed during the drinking bouts. In most cases it is a cow and two jugs of beer. The latter, however, can also be replaced by hoes. [221] The cow wears the vine around its neck known as mushishwa, and to it are fastened one of the two beer jugs or the hoe. The name for all these things is bukwe, "bride price." The mushishwa plant is added to make the agreement binding, to prevent the parents from changing their minds and giving the girl to another youth. Gifts are given to the nearest relatives of the girl as well as to the father. The father's brother gets three jugs of beer, and the mother's brother, two. The girl's mother gets three hoes, the maternal grandmother and the brothers, one hoe each. Payments are delivered a few days after the first negotiations. If the marriage does not take place, the bride price and, above all, the hoe with the mushishwa must be returned.

As the date of the marriage draws near, the visits with the obligatory presents of beer become more frequent. After a specified amount of beer has been drunk, the day of the ceremony is agreed upon.

585 The relatives of the bridegroom prepare a large amount of beer. The father of the girl or, if he is no longer living, her older brother invites relatives and women friends to bring the girl to the house of her future husband, along with a large retinue.

The girl is wrapped in a mat and either led or, if the roads are bad, carried. If during this journey anyone succeeds in catching a glimpse of the bride's face, the marriage will be of short duration. The retinue also carries an empty gourd, which is supposed to assure the girl of progeny, and the gifts from her relatives. In one of the baskets is the cowhide which she will wear after she is married; the other contains her jewelry. The procession sings along the entire way. The girl is received at the entrance to the courtyard of the bridegroom, who comes to meet her holding a gourd.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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567 kind of service. They could not be sold and might leave service and marry when they wished.

(3) Slaves who had been purchased or captured during wars or raids. These were also women and were seldom sold; when once a slave entered a family she remained there for life. Such slaves were often taken by their owners to wife, and their sons were regarded as legitimate and might inherit property.

CHAPTER XXXI

MARRIAGE, ILLNESS, AND DEATH

Forbidden relationships—initiation—arranging marriages—marriage ceremonies—taking home a bride—polygamy—entertainment of visitors—treatment of illness—death—burial—mourning—the heir—the widows

582 MARRIAGE between the descendants of a brother and sister was forbidden until they reached the fourth generation, that is, the great-grandchildren of a brother and sister might marry.

[881] There were no initiation ceremonies, but before the sons of princes or chiefs were considered to be of marriageable age, they had to prove that they were capable of settling some quarrel or lawsuit between men. The chief instruction given [869] to a youth was how to manage cattle, but he was also taught to cultivate the land.

584 Infant betrothals were common, and the parents of a boy might agree with those of a baby girl for their children to marry when of a suitable age. The boy's parents gave the others a cow as a pledge of the betrothal, and as long as they kept the cow the engagement was binding. If, however, the parents of the girl discovered any cause for breaking the pledge, they returned the cow with a message that the engagement was at an end. When a boy thus engaged came to a reasonable age, he was told of the arrangement and took presents of beer to his prospective father-in-law. When a boy

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

584 grew up without anything being arranged for his marriage, he asked his father's brother to find a wife for him.

585 When the day of the marriage came, the bridegroom took a cow and, accompanied by some friends, went to the kraal of the bride's parents, timing his visit to arrive at sunset when the cattle returned from pasture. The friends and relatives of the bride received the young man outside the kraal and they drank beer together. Then a sister of the bride came, and conducted the young man, leaving his friends outside, to a hut in the kraal where the bride was sitting. The bridegroom carried with him a runner of wild gourd which he twisted into a wreath and put on the bride's head. A pot of milk was given to him and he drank a mouthful which he puffed over the bride. He and the bride then placed their hands on the stones of the fire-place on which the pots stood while cooking; they churned a little butter together; a pot with water was put on the fire and together they sprinkled in flour, stirred it with one stick, and made porridge. Then the bridegroom returned to his friends outside the kraal gate and there they danced and drank beer all night, for none of them might sleep.

In the morning a mat was spread outside the kraal gate and the bride's father and some friends sat on it with the bridegroom. A cow was given to the friends of the bridegroom when they left to go home, and later in the day, after the bride's friends had discussed matters, the bridegroom also went home to prepare things for his bride's arrival.

The party which conducted the bride to her new home included her father, her brother's wife, her sister, and her young brother. The bride was carried in a litter and veiled, and the party arrived at the bridegroom's kraal when the cows were returning from the pasture. The bride was received by women relatives of the bridegroom, who took her into a house which they had prepared for her.

In the evening the bride joined her husband, but her young brother slept between her husband and herself that night and sometimes for two or three nights and the marriage might not

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

up, partly on the personality of the administrative officer of the day, and partly on his own judgement. In any event, conflict with the indigenous system at some points was to be expected, together with permanent modifications to give expression to the alteration of the status of the Hutu.

The System of Marriage in Bugufi

(*as disclosed by Native Court records*)

The normal precedent to marriage is formal betrothal, which must be effected by members of a woman's family, and a contract which she makes herself or through unauthorized persons is void.

Instances: A girl goes to a neighbour, who takes her to the man of her choice and offers her in marriage, the offer being accepted and bride-wealth being paid. Her father is sued for refusing to give the girl in marriage and wins the case, the neighbour who received the bride-wealth being ordered to refund it.

A man sues another for seducing his sister. The defence is that he and she agreed to marry. The Court finds that there could be no agreement since there were no witnesses of any kind, much less the woman's mother or brother who ought to have been present.

But there is a case of this rule being overridden by a wealthy man.

A man, brought to Court by a woman's guardian for seducing her, says that he wishes to marry her and considered himself wealthy enough to dispense with the usual preliminaries, and in any case did not know who her relatives were. He is fined, but is permitted to pay bride-wealth and marry the woman. The Court adds that the fine would have been larger had not the woman expressed her desire to marry the man.

The neighbour cited above who acted as the woman's agent had only to refund the bride-wealth which he had received: but in another case a man was imprisoned for enticing away a woman and giving her in marriage without her father's knowledge or consent.

Betrothal is only binding for a reasonable time.

Instances: A woman having been betrothed and the man having delayed to come to complete the marriage, her father marries her off to another man and refunds the bride-wealth.

A woman is betrothed to one man and married off to another. It is found that the former has been looking for bride-wealth for eight years, and he is held to have no justification for claiming the woman.

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

584 In certain circumstances a woman is at the disposal of the Chief or his headmen and not her relatives. Thus, in one case the Chief had brought a girl up and successfully sued her father for giving her in marriage: there is no record of why the girl was in the Chief's hands. In another, it is specifically stated that a man having died with only female issue, the daughters were taken over by the village headman: in a suit brought by her relatives, claiming the right to give her in marriage, they were successful, though it is stated in the record that this was contrary to ancient tribal custom.

583 686 Bride-wealth is normally handed over before marriage, but not necessarily. Instances of exceptions are:

> A man is sued for payment of bride-wealth by his wife's brother, who has seen that his sister is being ill-treated. The man cannot pay, so the Court dissolves the marriage and returns the woman to her brother.
>
> A woman's relatives are sued for return of bride-wealth, she having run away: and it is found in evidence that, in fact, it has never been paid.

If it has not been paid, there are limits to the right of the woman's relatives to sue for it.

> A man has married a woman and had two male children by her and then sent her home. Her relatives claim that he had no justification for sending her away and ask that he be made to take her back and to pay bride-wealth, which he had not previously done. The Court finds that the suit should have been brought at least ten years before, and the relatives lose.

It is not held exclusively by the senior member of the woman's family. Thus, in a case where two sisters were married, their elder brother (their father being dead) retained both payments, but the Court ordered that he should hold only one and his younger brother the other. There is nothing to show whether in general the bride-wealth is held by an individual or shared out among several members of a family.

581 583 There are indications that marriage is regarded by a woman's relatives as a commercial transaction to some extent.

Instances: A woman's brother successfully asserts his right to sell a cow received as bride-wealth, stating, as his justification, that exchange of

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

the absence of a taboo on sex-relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law may have induced some severe fathers to punish their sons in this way). As long as their fathers lived, sons were never emancipated.[12]

The father had a slightly different attitude towards his daughter, though she certainly had to obey and respect him. Like the boys the girls went to sleep later than their parents and got up earlier. They participated in a large measure in the domestic chores, among the Hutu. They were more closely associated with their mother, the father did not have the task of punishing them, and they were never beaten by him after puberty. They were said usually to have great influence on their father and could get what they wanted from him. When they married the father received the bride-wealth, but he had to supply some of the counter-gifts. Marriage did not cut the links between the girl and her inzu which remained her inzu. But her close connexion with her husband's inzu sometimes divided her loyalties, though I was told that this was rare and anyway not a part of her expected behaviour. *Amahitamo yaje, umwana ni uwa se* (when a choice has to be made, one is the child of one's father).

Ego regarded his paternal uncle very much as another father. He referred to him as 'our father'. Like the father, the father's brother had the right to punish. This is why a man who had committed some offence did not dare to take refuge with his paternal uncle. Their relations were, however, more cordial and less tense: the paternal uncle was the usual intermediary between Ego and Fa when the former wanted to obtain something from the latter. Ego, for instance, told his FaBr first when he wished to marry. There was no significant difference of behaviour towards the father's brothers, unless the relative ages of Ego and his FaBr were exceptional. If the nephew and his uncle were about the same age, there was a more familiar relationship between them. If FaBr was about as old as Fa, the attitude was more polite and respectful.

The paternal aunt (FaSi) had perhaps a still more prominent position. As she had received no part of her father's heritage, she felt free to ask from her father or from her brothers whatever she wanted for her nephews (Ego's children). Moreover, as her nephews could marry her daughters without any very urgent

[12] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 106-14.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

obligation to pay the bride-wealth, she could exert further pressure on her brothers by not agreeing to the marriage; finally, she had the power to curse her nephews and nieces. All this accounted for the importance of her role in the inzu. Nieces and nephews very often turned to her and she was often said to love them more than her own children. This difference between FaBr's and FaSi's attitudes toward Ego is perhaps reflected in the terminology. FaBr referred to his nephew by the word *muhunguwacu* (our-boy) and to his niece by *mukobwawacu* (our-girl), whereas the FaSi referred to both of them by *musengenezawanjye* (my niece/nephew). This last word contains the possessive 'my' used in kinship terminology usually for only the primary relatives, whereas the term of reference used by the FaBr includes the form 'our' usually used for secondary or more distant relatives.

Between Ego and the members of the generations alternate to his own, there were symmetrical relations of great familiarity and joking, with a preponderant sexual theme. The grandfather called his granddaughters his little wives and his grandsons his love rivals. The reason given for this familiarity is that it helped to cheer up the old people and to train the young ones in socially enjoyable talk. Grandfathers also participated in the socialization of the grandchildren by transmitting proverbs, legends, tales of past history, and mythological conceptions in which a great deal of the Ruanda view of the world was embodied.

As regards siblings, Ego was expected to have a respectful attitude towards his eldest brother, *uwamboneye izuba* (the first who saw the sun) even if the latter happened not to inherit the paternal authority over his brothers. In these cases he was honoured more than his brother who wielded the paternal authority. The eldest brother's advice was always asked by his siblings. Other brothers were expected to assume what we would call fraternal attitudes. But as brothers competed for their father's favour and had to share his heritage, there was under this appearance of cordiality a very deep rivalry and mutual distrust. It should be noted that all that is said of siblings applied both to half paternal siblings and to full siblings. In a descent group founded on agnatic principles the distinction of full and half paternal siblings is largely irrelevant.

Sisters were also expected to respect and obey their oldest brother. After they had reached puberty, however, he could not enforce obedience. The oldest sister's role was somewhat similar

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
IV. Ego's generation		
MoBrSo	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye (one with whom to beget-mine)
MoBrDa	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
MoFaBrSoSo	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu (one with whom to beget-our)
MoFaBrSoDa	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoSo	Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoDa	Mwana	Mubyarawacu[18]

Ego's mother, who was the link between Ego and her descent group, was not a figure of authority to the same extent as Ego's father. Her children had to behave respectfully and obediently towards her, but as she was a wife of their father, they saw that she, like they themselves, had to submit to an authority in the home. Moreover, Ruanda placed a very high value on their children and they were more important for the father than his wife. Consequently the children knew that from their father's point of view their mother did not enjoy a status superior to their own. Consequently the mother-son and mother-daughter relations were usually free and affectionate. Very often the mother, when widowed and old, came and lived with one of her children, whereas the old widower frequently lived alone.

The relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle was one of extreme restraint. It was not avoidance: they spoke to each other and Ego came and called on him from time to time. These attitudes were not completely symmetrical: the uncle seemed to consider his nephews only as nuisances. For him they brought ill-luck and they were treated accordingly: they were not allowed to look into his granaries or to milk his cows, and they ate with the servants. The uncle seemed to do all he could to induce them to keep away. But they visited him because there they met his children with whom they were traditionally permitted to have very familiar relationships. The maternal uncle was afraid that Ego would have intercourse with his daughter and that her betrothal to somebody else would thereby be broken. He was also afraid that if Ego married her he would not easily obtain bride-wealth from his brother-in-law. All these reasons were understandable enough.

[18] We do not mention here the maternal half-siblings because they do not belong to their mother's descent group. They are referred to as *Afuumumama* (child of mother).

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important for prospective spouses? Among Hutu and Tutsi both patrilineages looked for the right connexion. Has the man's (or girl's) inzu a good reputation? Is it well considered at the king's court? Are they rich? Is it strategic, in present circumstances, to be allied to them? What are the relations between their cattle-lord and ours? Individual qualities considered as socially important were for the prospective wife of a Tutsi that she should be expert at keeping a house very clean, at basket work, and at commanding servants. The Hutu wanted a hard-working wife able to help them in the fields. The Twa appreciated, as we may expect, a skilled potter. The most important qualities of the culturally defined ideal husband was his ability to support economically his wife and their children. That meant for a Tutsi that he should be rich in cattle and clever in political intrigues; for a Hutu that he should be a good labourer and a client appreciated by his lord, and for a Twa that he should be a good craftsman or hunter or a buffoon, liked by his Tutsi protectors. These qualities mentioned by our informants are those which made spouses good partners in the co-operative economic unit of the family. In the mind of Ruanda that aspect of the family was clearly emphasized. Beauty and sex-appeal were also highly appreciated, however, particularly by Tutsi.

The normal marriage age for boys was around twenty-five for Tutsi, seventeen to eighteen for Hutu, and fifteen for Twa. For girls, when 'breasts were fully developed and beginning to fall down' I was told. This gives a rather large range of age. A girl could be married before puberty but she remained with her parents till her first menstruation.

According to informants, virginity was appreciated more than both beauty and ability to co-operate in economic pursuits. This was rationalized in terms of virginity being a guarantee of fertility and of stability in the family. Among the Hutu a small gift was sent to the girl's parents by the husband when the girl was found to be virgin.

The prospective spouse was not chosen by his or her future partner. The boy could express only to his paternal uncle or aunt nothing more than a wish to get married. The father was told of his son's desire and then looked for a suitable girl. When she was found, the inzu council met and the advisability of a connexion with the girl's inzu was discussed. When an agreement was reached on the choice, the boy's father asked for an appointment with the

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girl's father, allowing a sufficient time for the latter to consult his patrilineage. If the answer was favourable, the meeting took place. Accompanied by a kinsman or a client, the boy's father came to visit the girl's father and offered him a jug of beer. After some preliminary talk, he came to the point and asked for the girl.

These preliminary steps were taken very skilfully. Nobody should ever be directly refused. If the girl's kinsfolk did not want the match, the visit of the boy's father was indefinitely delayed under several pretexts. Nobody should be put in such a position as to lose face. The boy and the girl were never officially consulted during these preparatory stages. If, however, one of them categorically refused the choice made, he was not obliged to marry. But it happened very rarely and the opposition of the individual concerned had to be extremely persistent if it was to succeed.

To marry a certain girl against the consent of one's own and her parents was impossible. But the following procedure could be attempted. The boy hid himself in a place to which he knew the girl would go. When she was coming he spat in her face a certain herb which had been chewed and mixed with milk (*imbazi*). They were then considered married as this was the central rite of any wedding. Often the ordinary wedding ceremonies followed. If, however, the girl's inzu were still opposed to that match, they obliged the girl to whistle and milk a cow. As both these actions were tabooed for a married woman, it was clearly meant that the girl was not married. The boy's father had then to pay a fine to the girl's people as a reparation for the wrong done to the girl's family.[8]

In secondary marriages (any marriage subsequent to the first one) there were not many more cultural criteria determining the choice of the spouse. Sororal polygyny was permitted but rare. In order to obtain new connexions the husband preferred to choose subsequent wives from an inzu other than that of his first wife Another reason given is that to have two or three sisters as wives brought more domestic troubles than wives who were not consanguineal relatives. If, however, his first wife was sterile, the husband was likely to ask for one of her sisters or parallel cousins as a second wife, without paying bride-wealth. But this was not a sororate, for the first wife's sister was not said to give birth to children for her sister: she was regarded as bearing them for herself.

[8] See description of other forms of this type of marriage in Pauwels, 1951, pp. 126-9.

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593 daughter is the necessity to prevent incest. The taboo is strong
784 enough to serve as the basis of the oath in court. A man "swears on his daughter", by saying, "If a lie, may I do that act with my daughter, the one named such-and-such".

581 Despite the physical and social distance between father and daughter, they are jointly interested in the earliest possible marriage for her. She is impatient for the pleasures and privileges of the married woman. He is looking forward to the dowry, which he keeps entirely for himself. It is possible that a mother will do her best to put off the marriage. She does not stand to profit from it at all. On the contrary, the departure of her daughter diminishes the available labour supply for work in the home and in the fields. Young people brought up in the homes of the great must wait a
582 long time before their master or mistress will allow them to leave to
[357] be married. The *inchoreke*, young women of good family who are the personal servants of princes and princesses, are often 25 years old before they are married. The *abakamyi*, young men of good family who milk for the great families, are sometimes 35 or 40 at marriage. Among the commoners, the children of the wealthy are
[565] able to marry early, the girls at 15 or 16 and the boys at 18. Poor people envy them and have to wait five to ten years longer before they can be married.

584 A girl's father waits for a visit from a man who is looking for a wife for his son. Sometimes, a boy may ask his father to dower a young girl to whom he has taken a fancy. However, it is the two fathers who decide everything. Neither the girl nor the boy need be formally advised of their father's decisions. Nevertheless, a father will probably tell his son and a mother will tell her daughter.
[564] If not, a girl among the Tutsi of western Burundi will guess that she is engaged from the arrival of the prescribed number of pots of beer from the family asking for her and from the gifts of beer and food sent by relatives for the celebration. She will guess the ap-
[591 proach of the wedding day most easily from the construction of the *indaro*, a temporary dwelling, in her father's yard, where she will
342] live with her husband for the first year of the marriage. (On the wedding day, the girl's father must absent himself from his house.)
591 If the new husband and wife are satisfied with each other and if they have a child, they will leave to take up permanent residence on the property the young husband has received from his father.

585 The Tutsi in the east of Burundi and the Hutu marry at the home
[184] of the groom's father. It is then the young man who deduces from the activities in the household that he will soon be married. The intended bride should properly be told who her intended bride-

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groom is so that she can obey the rule forbidding her to look at or speak to the man she is to marry. There are nonetheless young people, orphans or children whose parents are inconsiderate, who do not know until the wedding day that arrangements have been made to marry them. If this happens to a young girl, it is said, she becomes very frightened by the sudden necessity to go perhaps very far away to live with a strange family and with a man whom she has probably never seen. Although the young girl receives new clothes from the family of her bridegroom, although she goes to her new home accompanied by a representative of her family and by her friends and cousins (neither her mother nor her father may attend the wedding at the groom's home), the happy dreams of marriage change into nightmares. The bride is hardly reassured by a wedding ceremony that is a symbolic kidnapping. The hostility between the two patrilineages is supposed to be play-acting, but under the influence of beer, it often becomes genuine quarrelling. Weddings are almost invariably marked by arguments and mutual criticisms which are sometimes very bitter. In truth, hatred for a husband may still burn in the memory of an elderly lady as she speaks of her wedding of 50 years ago, if she had not been told in advance and if her husband on their wedding night behaved like a wild young man and took her by force and against her will. If the groom and parents-in-law are kind, they will be able to calm the fears of a bride. For the four days of the honeymoon, they are indulgent towards her. The husband and his brothers give her little gifts to persuade her to eat, they bribe her so that she will talk to them, and the mother-in-law sends beer and food. In this way, she can become accustomed to her new home.

A father who is wise and kind chooses a good husband for his daughter. He will point out that a bad marriage is not worth the trouble. If soon after the marriage his daughter returns home with a legitimate reason for having left her husband, the father will have to return the dowry and wait for someone else to come and ask for his daughter. It sometimes happens that a father is more interested in the dowry than in the happiness of his daughter. He will then accept the first offer made him, even if it comes from a man he knows is bad, or, scandal of scandals, from an old man. (The latter connotes incest, involving as it does a male of an older generation than the female.) Or, if the father is dead, a girl may be given by her paternal uncle to anyone who comes along. Men of this kind do not allow the women to come back home again when they are dissatisfied with their husbands. An orphan or the daughter of a bad father will have the good luck to please